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RESOLUTIONS OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL COUNCIL OF RESISTANCE

Description

A compilation, from all available sources, of resolutions passed by the National Council of Resistance from its inception in May 1943 up to 14 July 1944.

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14 September 1944

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION.. 1

I. FIRST MESSAGE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF RESISTANCE ADDRESSED TO DE GAULLE.............................. 1a

II. ON THE LIBERATION OF NORTH AFRICA................... 2

III. TO THE FCNL....................................... 5

IV. APPEAL TO THE FRENCH NATION........................ 5

V. TO THE CLASS OF '43................................. 9

VI. ON DEPUTIES WHO VOTED FULL POWERS TO PÉTAIN........ 10

VII. ARMISTICE DAY APPEAL.............................. 10

VIII. ON "TERRORISM"................................... 13

IX. APPEAL TO THE FCNL FOR ARMS........................ 13

X. APPEAL TO THE FCNL FOR MORE PUBLICITY FOR RESISTANCE... 14

XI. APPEAL FOR ARMS, FOR ENERGETIC PURGE, AND TO JOIN RESISTANCE.. 14

XII. APPEAL TO UNITED NATIONS FOR RECOGNITION OF THE FCNL... 15

XIII. ON PÉTAIN'S PROPOSAL TO RECONVENE A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.. 16

XIV. WARNING TO FRENCH OFFICIALS........................ 18

XV. ON REESTABLISHING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE...... 18

XVI. ON DARNAND'S CAMPAIGN OF TERROR................... 19

XVII. ON "BIR HAKEIM".................................. 20

XVIII. "ANSWER TO HITLERITE LIES" (On the Vichy Campaign against "Terrorism")............................ 20

XIX. AGAINST INDISCRIMINATE BLACKLISTS.................. 23

XX. FOR SUPPORT FOR THE MAQUIS ATTACKED BY DARNAND......... 25

XXI. THE CHARTER OF RESISTANCE.......................... 28

XXII. ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE FCNL................. 37

Page

XXIII. ORDER OF THE DAY TO THE FRENCH FORCES OF THE INTERIOR.. 38

XXIV. FOR UNITY IN RESISTANCE AND IN SUPPORT OF THE FCNL... 39

XXV. ON THE ROLE OF COMITÉS DÉPARTEMENTAUX DE LA LIBÉRATION 39

Resolutions of the CNR's Commission on Departmental Committees of Liberation........................ 47

1. On Municipal Governments................. 47

2. Addendum on Municipal Governments......... 49

3. To All Members of Departmental Committees of Liberation........................ 50

4. Concerning Arrests...................... 51

XXVI. CONCERNING SECURITY............................. 54

XXVII. NOTE TO THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES OF LIBERATION AND THE DEPARTMENTAL GENERAL STAFFS OF THE FFI......... 63

XXVIII. ON THE FFI... 64

XXIX. ON THE VICHY COURTS MARTIAL........................ 64

XXX. WARNING TO THE MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH POLICE FORCES... 65

XXXI. FURTHER APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOR RECOGNITION OF THE FCNL.................................. 66

XXXII. ON THE ENTRANCE OF THE COMMUNISTS INTO THE GOVERNMENT 68

XXXIII. ON 1 MAY 1944...................................... 69

XXXIV. ON THE CONDITION OF FRENCH PATRIOTS IN GERMAN HANDS.. 71

XXXV. TO WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS IN FRENCH INDUSTRY.......... 72

XXXVI. FOR 14 JULY 1944.................................... 73

APPENDIX: CONDEMNATION OF PUCHEU.......................... 76

RESOLUTIONS OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL COUNCIL OF RESISTANCE

INTRODUCTION

Since its inception in May 1943, the French National Council of Resistance has taken upon itself the responsibility of giving political and strategic leadership to the Resistance movement. Its claim to a considerable role in the administration of France in the interim period of provisional government has been recognized by the French Committee of National Liberation. Its attitude on problems of Resistance, provisional government, and post-war reconstruction is expressed in the resolutions of which this is a collection.

A complete and official compilation of the resolutions of the National Council of Resistance is not yet available. Different sources give prominence to different resolutions and sometimes give only abridged versions of the original text. This compilation is based on all available sources, as indicated in the foot-notes.

The Resolutions are arranged as far as possible in chronological order.

The topics handled in the resolutions include:

The role of the National Council of Resistance (IV, XIII, XXV, XXVII, XXVIII)

The role of Departmental Committees of Liberation (XXI, XXV, XXVII)

The role of the French Forces of the Interior (XXI, XXV, XXVII, XXVIII)

The members of the old Parliamentary bodies (VI, XIII, XXI, XXV)

The Communists (XXX, XXXII)

France's Allies (IX, XI, XII, XXIV, XXXI, XXXIV)

Foreign Policy (XXIV)

Post-liberation problems of political and economic reconstruction (XV, XXI, XXV)

The purge (XI, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XXI, XXV, XXIX, XXX, and the Appendix on Pucheu).

The resolution on Security (XXVI) gives a remarkable picture of the nature of clandestine organization.

I. FIRST MESSAGE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF RESISTANCE ADDRESSED TO DE GAULLE

All parties of Resistance in the North and South Zones send to General de Gaulle -- on the eve of his departure for Algeria -- and to the French National Committee the renewed assurance of their attachment to the principles they incarnate. They (de Gaulle and the National Committee) could not abandon a fraction of those principles without violently shocking French public opinion.

The Council declares publicly that the meeting which is planned should take place at the seat of the Government General in Algiers, in broad daylight and between Frenchmen.

They further declare: (1) political problems may not be excluded from the conversations; (2) that the French people will never admit the subordination of de Gaulle to Giraud. The people demand the speedy establishment at Algiers of a provisional government, presided over by General de Gaulle, with General Giraud as military chief; (3) General de Gaulle will remain for all the only leader of French resistance, whatever the result of negotiations.[1]

II. ON THE LIBERATION OF NORTH AFRICA

The National Council of Resistance has seen with immense joy the total liberation of North Africa brought about by the victory of the English, American, and French Allied armies.

Following the magnificent successes of the Soviet armies, this victory has brought great hope to the Frenchmen fighting on their native soil.

The Council pays homage to those who have fallen. It congratulates and gives thanks to the fighters and their leaders. The CNR is particularly grateful to those who have conquered under the flag of France. It is glad that the great African effort planned since the month of June 1940, followed after the entrance of French Equatorial Africa in the war, and developed in 1941 and 1942, thanks to the participation of the forces of Fighting France in the Libya campaigns and thanks to the exploits of the Leclerc column, should have been accomplished today by the youthful army of General Giraud.

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[1] La Marseillaise, 16 May 1943; New York Times, 15 May 1943; London wire, #3369, 15 May 1943.

The Council is greatly satisfied with the decision taken soon after this victory by General de Gaulle and General Giraud to meet in Algiers in order to unite all the French forces fighting against the Nation's enemy and his accomplices from within.

In this solemn hour of the history of our country and at a time when our destiny will be decided, the Council must express the opinion of the people who fight on the still occupied soil of Metropolitan France, and it must state the conditions on which this unity must be based.

France, already present on all fronts, aspires to entering with greater intensity in the war of liberation and to throw in all the resources of her liberated Empire.

In order to attain this goal, France must have as soon as possible a strong and unified government, which will coordinate and give orders, thus re-affirming her prestige as a great Nation.

The Council considers as inadequate the institution to this effect of a simple executive committee, especially if this should mean a dualism in leadership incompatible with the necessitied of war and the extent of government functions.

FRANCE CAN ONLY CONCEIVE THE CREATION OF A REAL GOVERNMENT, NATURALLY A PROVISIONAL ONE BUT HAVING ALL THE FORM AND ALL THE AUTHORITY OF A GOVERNMENT, ONCE AND FOR ALL OFFICIALLY REPUDIATING BY ITS ACTS THE DICTATORSHIP OF VICHY, ITS MEN, ITS SYMBOLS, AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS.

IT IS THE DUTY OF THE COUNCIL TO AFFIRM THAT FRANCE CAN ONLY CONCEIVE OF A GOVERNMENT UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF GENERAL DE GAULLE, who was the soul of Resistance in the darkest hours, and who, since June 18th, 1940 has not ceased to prepare in full consciousness and independence the re-birth of the destroyed homeland and the destroyed Republican liberties.

She (France) ardently wishes to see General Giraud, who has prepared and assured with the Allies the victory of North Africa, take the command of the resuscitated French army.

Thus will be fulfilled the technical and moral conditions necessary for the unity of all Fighting French forces, the indispensable instrument for the liberation and resurrection of our country.

The Council wishes to proclaim today the necessity for this solution in conformance with the will of France. The CNR regards as assured that this aspiration will be satisfied without delay or mutilation, as has been called for in the name of France by so many obscure sacrifices and so much spilt blood.

(signed)
Ceux de la Libération,
Ceux de la Résistance,
Front National pour la Libération de la France,
Libération Zone Nord,
OCM,
Mouvements Unis (Combat, Franc-Tireur, Libération),
The representatives of the following parties and political tendencies:
    Parti Communiste, Parti Socialiste, Radicaux-Socialistes, Democrates Populaires, Alliance Democratique, Federation Republicaine,
The representatives of the CGT and CFTC trade unions. [1]

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[1] Libération Zone-Sud, #30, 1 July 1943,
Libération Zone-Occupée, #132, 8 June 1944,
Brief extracts in Franc-Tireur, 6 June 1943,
FCC: Daily, 24 June 1943.

III. TO THE FCNL

The Council of Resistance is confident that the French Committee will eliminate, once and for all, the traces of Vichy rule, and that it will be strictly faithful to the fundamental principles called for since four years by the forces of Resistance, and which have been clearly defined by General de Gaulle in a manifesto of May 1942.

The CNR states that the ideal of Fighting France is threefold: (1) The determination to liberate the homeland of the yoke of the enemy and his accomplices. (2) The determination to restore the right to decide their own future to Frenchmen, who want to re-establish without delay the full freedom of Republican institutions. (3) The will for moral, political, economic, social, and military renovation.

The Council of Resistance finally appeals to the French Committee of National Liberation for all possible aid in the merciless struggle against deportation and the annihilation of French youth (the real élite of France); a struggle the issue of which will determine the fate of France.[1]

IV. APPEAL TO THE FRENCH NATION

On the brink of defeat, Germany increases the burden of Nazi repression on the French people. Each day the exigencies of the enemy are increased. Each day Berlin and Vichy demand of France newer and more odious sacrifices. French youth are having to work and die for Germany.

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[1] France Day By Day, La France a l'Ecoute; BBC Monitoring Service, #182, 27 July 1943.

The Nation bears the suffering of this tyranny and the humiliation of this treachery with an ever increasing anger. Living in the sole expectation of deliverance, France under the terror wishes to prepare her contribution towards the day which will see the vengeance of justice and liberty.

The Council of Resistance, uniting the movements of action of the whole territory, assembling all the tendencies of French political thought, and uniting all spiritual movements under a common love for the liberated homeland, has been constituted to give an authentic expression to the French will, and to give undisputed discipline to the action of the patriots.

As the complete and only expression of Resistance, the Council of Resistance claims over all the territory the rights and responsibilities of the guardian and provisional organ of national sovereignty.

Against the enemy and against treason, the Council of Resistance has the mission to inspire, to coordinate, and to lead the struggle of the French people on their own soil, in close cooperation with the French Committee of National Liberation and faithful to the doctrine of Fighting France.

Frenchmen are striving for freedom with a spirit of resolution, of firmness, of courage, and a persistent disregard of danger, which no sacrifice has destroyed and which will remain until the day when such heroic hopes will have been justified. At this price, France alone will have restored her greatness and pride, after having passed through a trial of shame and misery the like of which has never been seen in French history.

The Council of Resistance salutes with grief, respect, and tenderness those who died and those who will die on the long road to victory. From whatever background they may have come, remembrance of those who died for France will for ever be part of the mournings and remembrance of noble actions of a great history.

The Council of Resistance addresses a solemn appeal to all Frenchmen that they may each, according to his means, contribute personally to the struggle by obeying orders, which is the duty of everyone.

Today the most urgent task is the struggle against deportation. Each Frenchman and each Frenchwoman must do all in their power to prevent the departure for Germany of the youth, whose work and blood are wanted by the invader. Each Frenchman and each Frenchwoman can do something against deportation: participation in petitions, demonstrations against departures, collection and distribution of money, food, and ration stamps, preparing shelters, and the organizing of "maquis."

The peasant class, in particular, can do much to help the réfractaires by feeding them and offering them shelter. The peasantry, menaced by the enemy, realize that the réfractaires are the honor of France and may soon by her defenders.

The action against the invader and his Vichy accomplices must take all forms.

We must fight against the requisitioning of agricultural products, against the wages of famine, and against the rations of misery. By all means possible, we must sabotage the production and communications of the enemy, and do all in our power to weaken him and scatter his forces. By their constant action, Frenchmen.... will prepare their strength for the decisive struggle while making resistance against deportation increasingly effective.

The struggle is everywhere, in each commune, hamlet, or town. From the priest to the teacher, from the workman to the foreman, from the engineer to the employer, from the peasant to the partisan, from the landowner to the secretary of the *mairie*, from the railroad worker and postman to the official and shopkeeper, let each one do his duty knowing that he has something to do, for everyone has something to do.

Let the patriots assemble in Fighting French Committees, disregarding all differences of opinion concerning method and organization. Let them be grouped in each village, quarter, and enterprise in order to lead on Frenchmen and Frenchwomen to the struggle.

Thus by your action, you will hasten and prepare the uprising of the Nation, which will liberate the homeland in conjunction with the general offensive of the Allies.

Thus by the effort and sacrifice of all, will be forged a durable and deep-seated community of Frenchmen, the necessary condition for the greatness, liberty, and unity of the renovated homeland and the reconstructed Empire.[1]

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[1] *Pour la Victoire*, 4 September 1943; *l'Humanité*, #240, 15 August 1943; *France (London)* 26 August 1943; Partial reproduction in a tract *Un Appel à la Nation par le CNR*, September 1943.

V. TO THE CLASS OF '43

Faced with the new measures of the Germans requisitioning the class of 43, and which are added to the innumerable deportations ordered by them;

The Council of Resistance, as the delegate of the FCNL and as the privisional depositary on the national territory of the prerogatives of the State, addresses to the young men of the class of 1943 the following imperative instructions:

Requisiton signifies deportation, whatever the hypocritical precautions and lying promises of the enemy. It is the duty of every young Frenchman to avoid working for the enemy by all the means at his disposal.

The work and blood of Frenchmen can only belong to France. They must not serve to prolong the delay which separates us from victory, but must reduce this delay.

Unless it is materially impossible for him to do otherwise, every young Frenchman must avoid the German requisition. The class of 1943, which the enemy wanted to mobilize for this service, is mobilized for the service of France. The class of 1943 must work and fight not for Germany, but against Germany.

Every young Frenchmen must seek shelter in the homes of relatives and friends and make contact with the movements of Resistance, the Maquis organizations, and any other patriot group.

However difficult such a resolution may seem, it is not above the patriotism of the youth. This resolution must be taken by all those who do not wish to be unworthy of our martyrs and of our fighters in Africa and in the interior; it must be taken by all those who are proud of our flag and the glories of our past, and desire for their country a future of greatness and liberty in a more equitable world.[1]

VI. ON DEPUTIES WHO VOTED FULL POWERS TO PETAIN

The CNR has expressed in a resolution its opposition to the participation of the deputies, who voted for Pétain in June 1940 in an Assembly such as the Consultative Council "as long as the people have not pronounced themselves on their case."[2]

VII. ARMISTICE DAY APPEAL

Frenchmen, Frenchwomen,

November 11th 1943 will be a day of struggle while awaiting the next November 11th, which will be a day of joy.

For over three years the Nazi invader has trampled on our soil, scoffed at our pride, pillaged our property, destroyed our liberties, deported and shot the best of those among us. His repression takes into account neither sex nor age, and it is without distinction of political opinion, religious affiliation, or social origin that he hunts down and assassinates those who are the honor and hope of the Nation.

That is why all Frenchmen united in the love of their crucified homeland, will, by means of an effective manifestation, rise together to express their will to bring a positive, immediate, and durable contribution to national liberation.

On this anniversary of our victory, all Frenchmen will remember that they are not part of the Nation of Pétain and Laval, but the proud Nation of Foch and Clémenceau, the same great Nation as in the days of the past, the Nation which is strong and does not despair, whose cast down flag has been raised by de Gaulle, the incarnation of its will to fight, whose sons worthy of the name have gathered around the French Committee of National Liberation, the only authentic representative of the Nation before the world.

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[1] The National Council of Resistance (tract); also in Libération Zone-Nord, #153, 2 November 1943.

[2] Front National Nouvelle Serie, #2, November 1943

In expressing their will to fight and vanquish, Frenchmen will honor yesterday's victors while honoring the sacrifice of those who died for tomorrow's victory.

For over three years, hundreds of thousands of victims of Nazi repression or Vichy repression have suffered, tens of thousands have fallen, often under conditions of frightful horror, in order that all the things, which have made France's greatness and are the price of life for free men, may one day reappear and be strengthened in the times of peace and justice won by their sacrifice.

Thousands of men and women have died as hostages, assassinated by the enemies of their country out of hatred for their country. Their government of traitors, Hitler's willing executioner, forbids the publication of their names, when it is not taking part in their slaughter.

On this anniversary of one of the greatest days of her history, France must honor all these noble martyrs. Still occupied but sensing her coming liberation, France is resolved not to receive it as a gift, but to contribute to it herself with all her strength. France must pay a public tribute of piety and gratitude to those who died for her on the most poignant of battlefields.

In remembrance of these heroes, Frenchmen will henceforth find the will to contribute actively towards avenging their death and preparing for the liberation.

The victims of the underground struggle, from Count Estienne d'Orves to the martyrs of Chateaubriand and so many other unknown dead, do not expect vain reverence (révérence stérile) from us, but the virile mourning of fighters resolved to avenge their comrades.

On this day of November 11th, Frenchmen will associate the piety of reverence with the will to fight.

Collections for the families of victims will be organized everywhere. Give generously, for example, a day's wages or an hour's help for those whose situation is too difficult. The product of these collections will be given the families of victims, who continue to be persecuted by Vichy's Germans out of hatred for the departed.

All France will go into mourning. Even if there is no cloth, because of the Germans, you will be able to find in some drawer a piece of black cloth which you will wear all day. This will show your compatriots that you are thinking, as they are thinking of the ignored tomb of heroes.

But the greatest possible tribute to those who fell, will be to continue their task and to do what they would have done. That is why November 11th must show continuity of action even more than faithfulnessof remembrance.

On the exact Anniversary of the Armistice, on the exact anniversary of that day of shame when Marshal von Rundstedt brought Pétain the notification of France's total occupation, that is to say:

ON NOVEMBER 11TH, AT ELEVEN O'CLOCK, all Frenchmen and Frenchwomen will demonstrate at their place of work until midday, by the partial or total cessation of work.

At midday, all Frenchmen and Frenchwomen, in towns and villages, will go to war monuments.

By these demonstrations, France will proclaim, before the invader and his accomplices, her unshakeable will not to be the passive beneficiary of a liberation accomplished by the Allies, but to contribute to the war until Victory is won.[1]

VIII. ON "TERRORISM."

In an appeal to the French people, the CNR warns Frenchmen against the efforts of the Germans and their Vichy satellites tending to discredit in the eyes of the masses the action of the *Franc-Tireurs* and Partisans and other "soldiers without uniform" by a campaign of lies against so-called terrorism. On the contrary, the CNR asks Frenchmen to support and strengthen the élite formations of Resistance who in fighting today against the enemy hasten the liberation of the homeland.[2]

IX. APPEAL TO THE FCNL FOR ARMS

A resolution addressed to the French Committee of National Liberation demands with much insistance that the FCNL itself organize the sending of arms by parachute in order to make up for the failure of the Allied organism which looked after this matter. This document demonstrates that heroes might have been saved from death, capture, or tortures had they possessed a sub-machine gun instead of a revolver. Furthermore, it indicates that the lack of special equipment has obliged patriots to take away German mines from a coastal minefield and carry them hundreds of kilometers in order to blow up strategic objectives. Finally, it affirms that the Boches would find it impossible to use French railroads, roads, and canals if only half the *réfractaires* were armed; this would further permit the capture of German arm dumps and with these arms the equipping of several hundreds of thousands of French patriots who might thus help in liberating important parts of France.

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[1] *Libération-Zone-Nord*, #152, 26 October 1943. Brief extracts Zone-Sud, 11 November 1943; *Le Populaire*, Zone Sud, November 1943; *Le Populaire, Zone-Nord*, November 1943.

[2] *Front National, Nouvelle Série*, #2 November 1943. This document is not an exact reproduction of the original wording. Compare #XVII

The document concludes by stating that the arming and action of patriots would give France an army trained in guerilla warfare, strong enough so that France's national independence and participation in the settlement of peace problems would be better guaranteed than they would have been had she emerged from the war without having participated in the common victory.[1]

X. APPEAL TO THE FCNL FOR MORE PUBLICITY FOR RESISTANCE

Another resolution, also addressed to the French Committee of National Liberation, asks that the FCNL obtain that the London, Algiers, Morocco, and Brazzaville radio stations publish the appeals of the National Council of Resistance regrets that the appeals of November 11th should have been broadcast only in part (no mention made of the manifestations around war monuments!), and hopes that henceforth the communiqués of the fighting formations of Resistance (such as the FTPF) be published regularly in order to encourage the development of the struggle of the French people and to create a healthy spirit of emulation among the different movements.[2]

XI. APPEAL FOR ARMS, FOR ENERGETIC PURGE, AND TO JOIN RESISTANCE

The National Council of Resistance, meeting somewhere in France......

Approves the account given of the Bureau's activity;

Addresses to the French Committee of National Liberation, the only legitimate Government of the Nation, and to its President, the undisputed head of wartime France, the expression of its confidence to lead the struggle at the side of the Allies, until the

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1. *Front National, Nouvelle Série*, #2 November 1943. This document is not an exact reproduction of the original wording. Compare XVIII
2. Ibid.

liberation and common victory;

Begs the French Committee of National Liberation to obtain the arms which the fighters of the interior so cruelly lack, with the conviction that the FCNL is resolved to do all in its power to help the French people in their struggle against the invader;

Proclaims before the world that France, who claims her full place in the struggle, at the same time and for this reason claims her full sovereignty and the integrity of her rights;

Proclaims once more that the necessary renovation of the country can only be the task of unimpeachable men, and expresses to the French Committee of National Liberation its confidence in the energetic continuation of the work of purification undertaken to eliminate from the army and the administrations all those who have failed and to punish pitilessly all those who have betrayed;

Calls on all the French people to enter Resistance organizations, in order to strengthen the aid to those who fight and the number of those who fight, at a time when the decline of the enemy's strength and the donfusion of the Vichy regime, his accomplice, give to all patriots the first signal of decisive action.[1]

XII. APPEAL TO UNITED NATIONS FOR RECOGNITION OF THE FCNL

The National Council of Resistance;

Considering that after six months' exercising of its authority on the soil of France, by the freely consented discipline manifested by the French people in regard to this authority, it has been proved that it (the CNR) has united in the struggle and on Metropolitan territory all Frenchmen worthy of their birth;

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[1] *Résistance*, #20, 25 December 1943; *Le Patriote*, January 1944; *France* (London 1 January 1944

Considering that it therefore has undisputed moral and practical rights to speak in the name of the French people;

Considering that it is particularly well qualified to speak in the name of the fighters and martyrs of Resistance who have heeded its appeal and who have fought in accordance with its orders;

Considering that it recognizes the FCNL unreservedly and without discussion as the true Government of France;

Considering that this recognition backed by the will of the French people, is valid not only for the Empire and liberated territories but for all French soil;

Adjures the United Nations solemnly and urgently, in the interest of the present struggle and the friendly cooperation of Nations for future world reconstruction, that the FCNL, recognized as their only Government by all Frenchmen faithful to the homeland, be recognized as an equal and unreservedly by those powers whom Frenchmen have never ceased to consider as their Allies.[1]

XIII. ON PETAIN'S PROPOSAL TO RECONVENE A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The National Council of Resistance;

Informed that Philip Pétain and the Vichy government, following the suggestion of certain publicists in the enemy's service, are considering the return of the National Assembly, which was dissolved over three years ago, after having abdicated its powers;

Addresses a solemn warning to all parliamentarians who might either be called upon for their signature in view of the

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1. Résistance, #20, 25 December 1943; La Nouvelle République, 4 January 1944; l'Echo d'Alger, 1 January 1944; FCC: Ticker (Brazzaville in French), 30 December 1943.

distribution of a convocation, or be expected to answer such a convocation;

Considering that the convocation of a National Assembly by the usurping power of Vichy can only be illegal;

Considering that no sovereign Assembly can be held in France under foreign domination;

Considering that, consequently, any National Assembly called together by Vichy and under pressure of the Germans can only be a new opportunity of affording the external and internal enemies of the Nation the means of aggravating the threats hanging over the people of France and the liberties of its citizens;

The National Council of Resistance, acting as the only authentic French authority constituted on Metropolitan territory, and as the only interpreter of the national will, with a valid expression through the Resistance movements or through the accredited representatives of parties and political tendencies which have remained faithful to the Nation;

Advises all parliamentarians that it is their duty to refuse their signature to any request for a convocation and to refuse to attend should a convocation be issued, no matter what disadvantages or threats they might undergo as a result of this;

The CNR warns the parliamentarians who might ignore this advice that they will have to answer for their actions before the liberated Nation.[1]

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[1] Résistance, #20, 25 December 1943; Libération-Zone-Sud, 15 December 1943; Franc-Tireur, 1 December 1943; Libération, 30 November 1943; FCC: Ticker (Brazzaville in French), 30 November 1943; Pamphlet signed Mouvements Unis de Résistance (MUR) - Combat-Libération-Franc-Tireur.

XIV. WARNING TO FRENCH OFFICIALS

The National Council of Resistance addresses the following appeal to French officials..... This is a final warning to all the holders of public office that they may realize the gravity of the acts committed by those among them responsible for helping the enemy. They are informed that in no case will the alleged discipline towards the usurping government of Vichy be considered as an excuse.

The National Council of Resistance informs officials of all rank who might have been or will be guilty of such actions that they will have to answer for them before the tribunals of the Republic as soon as France is liberated and that fair justice will be done.[1]

XV. ON REESTABLISHING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN FRANCE

The French Committee of National Liberation having presented before the bureau of the Algiers Consultative Assembly a project calling for the re-establishment of constitutional legality in France after the liberation, the National Council of Resistance has adopted the following resolution:

The National Council of Resistance makes it known that it is the very firm opinion of Resistance that an Assembly, such as is foreseen in the above project, does not correspond, notably in the question of indirect suffrage, to the aspirations and needs of the country, and that such an Assembly would lack authority over the Nation, democratic authenticity, and capacity for renewal.

In consequence, the National Council of Resistance requests the French Committee of National Liberation not to insist on a project likely to cause serious difficulties.

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1. Le Populaire, February 1944; Résistance, #25, January 1944.

The CNR asks the French Committee of National Liberation to inform the members of the Consultative Assembly of the above.[1]

XVI. ON DARNAND'S CAMPAIGN OF TERROR

The National Council of Resistance;

Having been informed of the nomination of Joseph Darnand as Secretary General for the maintenance of Order;

Considering that this nomination of a French volunteer in the Waffen SS, placed under thd direct orders of Europe's executioner, Himmler, dispels all illusion as to the control of the French police by the Germans:

Stating that there is no legitimate government other than the FCNL;

The CNR asks all Frenchmen to oppose the action of the traitors in the pay of Himmler's representative by a total refusal to obey their orders, and it asks all officials to sabotage the orders of the head of the militia.

The CNR further asks all the representatives of the public order to hamper this plan of terrorism against the Nation by inertia and by protecting effectively the patriots who fight against the enemy, warning them of all the moves of the militia. The CNR requests these representatives to group themselves in patriotic Committees of the Police, destined to oppose whenever possible the usurping power of Vichy and its great work of treacheryl

The nomination of Joseph Darnand reveals the Wahrmacht's fear of the courage of French patriots, at a moment when the Reich is awaiting, from one week to the next, an Allied landing on our soil. The Nation will answer this provocation by redoubling its action.

Consequently,

The National Council of Resistance declares:

That whomsoever will have, in any way and even indirectly, contributed to the functioning of the General Secretariat for the Maintenance of Order, will have to stand trial before the regularly constituted tribunals for the crime of connivance with the enemy;

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[1] l'Humanite, 1 February 1944

That all Frenchmen, all the members of Resistance organizations, and more particularly all officials of the French police, have the imperative and absolute duty of refusing to obey Joseph Darnand and his accomplices, public enemies and traitors to the Nation, consequently to be brought to justice by all patriots invoking the right of legitimate self-defense (*du droit de légitime défense*).[1]

XVII. ON "BIR HAKEIM"

Denunciation of *Bir Hakeim* by the National Committee of Resistance, and the National Front:

With the National Council of Resistance, the National Front denounces the vast manoeuvre (of *Bir Hakeim*) and calls upon the vigilance of its members and all French patriots and asks them to consider as enemy agents those who spread this infamous sheet.[2]

XVIII "ANSWER TO HITLERITE LIES" (On the Vichy Campaign against "Terrorism")

On Hitler's orders, Pétain and Laval have just unleashed a violent press and radio campaign of lies, which, under the pretext of "terrorism," is aimed at the courageous patriots who harass the occupying troops, destroy munitions and supply dumps, slow down the enemy's war production, and punish his accomplices.

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1. *Libération*, 29 February 1944. Partial reproduction in French Press and Information Service, *Doc. Série* #516, 31 January 1944.
2. *Le Patriote*, March 1944. This is not a quotation of the original resolution.

The purpose of this campaign is clear. By a false presentation of facts, it is aimed at making public opinion, confuse the base crimes, committed by bandits against innocent persons, with the acts of legitimate defense which the soldiers of Fighting France are obliged to carry out against the oppressor of the nation and for the liberation of the territory. The traitors are perfectly capable of contributing directly themselves to this confusion by fomenting, according to necessity, crimes, assassinations, aggressions, and thievery, and of blaming them on the best sons of France.

This plot must be foiled. Public opinion which knows how much to believe in the truth of a sold-out press, an enslaved radio, and infamous propagandists, must understand that the information which is given out concerning a pretended terrorism comes from those who have an essential interest in deceiving it about the reality of events by slandering the defenders of the Nation for the sole benefit of those who are exploiting, pillaging, and debasing it.

In creating this confusion, they seek to discourage the will of all the fighters in the interior, to dishearten those who burn with impatience to join them in daring and sacrifice. It is for such a purpose that the Germans and Vichy endeavor to multiply the bulletins of victory over the fighting resistance by multiplying in the press the items of arrests, certain of which are several weeks, sometimes months old, and which are always exaggerated or twisted.

This campaign reveals the weakness of the enemy.

The enemy dreads seeing the action of patriots increase through the admiration which it arouses in all well-born hearts. He is worried about the effective attacks carried out on his war potential in our territory. Railroads, high voltage lines, warehouses, all the nerve centers of his military machine seem menaced more dangerously every day by the action of the patriots. He also fears seeing the drying up of his sources of information which denouncement furnished him, by the prompt execution of the punishments which his traitors and agents deserve.

To break the resistance of French workers to deportation, to remove from the national insurrection the cadres which it needs and the confidence which surrounds its cadres, he sees no better means than to discredit them by the accusation of terrorism.

The French will be neither dupes of nor accomplices in the enemy campaign. They know that liberated France will remember her hereditary vocation as the country of right, the first country on the continent to proclaim individual liberty and the inviolability of the home, the country which learned from her former experience that the purpose of a Revolution is to establish, on the ruins of injustice and oppression, order and not disorder.

In vain a kept propaganda seeks to confuse in the minds of patriots the intrepid men who struggle for liberty, sacrificing their safety, risking their lives, with the unclean creatures who grew in the mud of Vichy, in the atmosphere of demoralization and corruption which is that of the pretended National Revolution. Vichy will inscribe the best and the worst under the same rubrics in vain, France will not be deceived for a moment.

The response which she will make to this ignominious propaganda consists of strengthening the aid which she is now giving and will give with still more generosity during the bad times for those whom General de Gaulle called "the advance guard of the Army of Liberation on home soil."

The police and the magistrates are informed once more that accounts will be settled for all acts which led to the arrest of any patriot.

The FCNL, the only French government, has already proclaimed that no functionary can expect the pardon of liberated France by taking advantage of the fact that he was executing the orders of his superiors and did not know that those orders were enemy orders. It is needless to add that if, in the course of the struggle which they are leading against the patriots, the agents of repression happen to die in the service of the enemy, liberated France will assume none of the moral or pecuniary obligations, in the case of their families, which it will for those who defend it, not for those who betray it.

To the campaign frantically conducted under the cover of "terrorism" against those who fight for France, the patriots will respond by enrolling in increasing numbers in the fighting groups and resistance movements. They will join, wanting to be soldiers of liberation too, those who fight to hasten the hour of national emancipation, knowing that the independence and greatness of the country are entrusted to the hands of the French alone.[1]

XIV. AGAINST INDISCRIMINATE BLACKLISTS

At a time when Joseph Darnand, promoted by Laval and Petain from the functions of Waffen SS to those of Secretary General for the Maintenance of Order, is attempting by all possible means to create in France a climate of civil war, when every day at Lyon, Grenoble, Toulouse, and throughout France, his hired mercenaries... make themselves known by new assassinations, the CNR appeals to all patriots to frustrate the odious plan of the enemy by their courage and self-possession.

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[1] Bulletin d'Information de Front National #1, 15 November 1943; partial citation in Les Letters Francaises, March 1944, France (London) 2 February 1944.

The day is near for the hour of justice in a liberated France, when the handful of unworthy Frenchmen, who for 4 years have been the accomplices of the oppressor, will be dragged from their places of hiding, brought without delay before the tribunals of the Republic, and punished in accordance with their crimes.

The following weeks will more than ever require that nothing should divert patriots from their essential aim: the struggle against the invader. -

For this reason, the CNR:

(1) Warns Frenchmen against the tendency of certain among them to believe that they have done their patriotic duty by disseminating inaccurate lists of "collaborationists," without discriminating between the victims of the Pétain myth and the traitors in the enemy's pay. Such mistakes have not only been detrimental to the public interest but have compromised irreproachable men who could only have been denounced by provocateurs.

(2) Reproves the systematic use of warning letters, which, under the pretext of warning the accomplices of the enemy, even if they are not addressed to loyal citizens, contribute in the most dangerous fashion to the campaign of bewilderment and confusion which constitutes one of the enemy's aims.

(3) Refuses to assume responsibility for all the judgements of improvised courts, which are illegally constituted...and which pass sentences without the necessary backing of authority, simulating legal forms.

The struggle against the enemy and his mercenary traitors must be one of action. It is a task which is part of national defense, which demands resolution and silence, and which can only be hampered by the abuse of oral manifestations.

Concerning those Frenchmen led astray by Vichy and who are increasingly understanding their error, members of Resistance must remember that nothing must be done which might win over to the enemy those compatriots who have committed no dishonorable act and who can and must be won over to our cause. Under whatever pretext, nothing must be done which might prevent at this time the necessary union of all Frenchmen faithful to the homeland.

Today the time has come for the merciless struggle against all those responsible for the most criminal outrage against the Nation since the beginnings of her history, and against all those who "collaborate" with the mortal enemy of our independence and civilization.

Consequently, the CNR reminds all patriots that it is their task to fight the enemy, an immediate and vital effort for our country, and towards which unauthorized actions and denunciations are completely useless.

At the end of this trial... will come the hour of justice for all those who will have betrayed their duties as Frenchmen. After an arbitrary blood bath, France cannot conceive, as does Darnand, of justice by means of court martials. The notions of liberty and respect for the human person... have become more sacred and more precious than ever in the eyes of Frenchmen. No makeshift of this is acceptable at any time...[1]

XX. FOR SUPPORT FOR THE MAQUIS ATTACKED BY DARNAND

The mercenaries of the Waffen SS Darnand and the grey-green soldiers have gone to war to exterminate the réfractaires scattered in the mountains of Upper Savoy and Corrèze.

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[1] France, 29 March 1944; Combat, March 1944; Reported briefly in Plain Cable, Moscow, 13 April 1944, Pressintel, Swiss Press, 26 May 1944.

With armored cars and artillery they attack the soldiers of the New France, who, ill armed and with indomitable courage, fight to the death rather than surrender.

With flame-throwers they attack the inhabitants of villages and farms, who shelter and feed the réfractaires.

The operations undertaken in Savoy and Corrèze, were they to succeed, would only be the beginning of an offensive against the réfractaires in all the departments of France.

In their successful outcome depends the possibility of deporting young men of the 1945 and 1944 classes and of making men from 16 to 60 and women from 18 to 45 years of age work in Germany or France, thus prolonging the war by several months.

Since the liberty of all Frenchmen and the liberation of the homeland are the stake of the struggle now taking place in Upper Savoy and Corrèze, each Frenchman must frustrate the plan of the enemy. Let him harass the occupying troops, attack the enemy's convoys, derail his trains, and eliminate Darnand's militiamen, the assassins of Frenchmen.

Let the workers and technicians organize strikes in favor of the réfractaires, stopping the enemy's transports and stopping his war production, in accordance with the directives of trade unions. Let the employers support them.

Let the officials of the administration and police, and the gendarmes and garde-mobiles, sabotage all orders issued by the government of Pétain-Darnand-Laval-Henriot. Let them refuse to obey any instruction which might harm their brothers of the Maquis and all patriots who fight for the liberation of France.

Let those, who have done nothing up to the present, do something for the homeland.

Let those, who were already fighting in the past, now make twice the effort, twice as many derailments of enemy transports, twice as many actions against the invaders and traitors, and twice as much sabotage against production. Thus will our sons and brothers of the Maquis be saved.

Thus will Darnand's army of civil war be obliged to seek hiding, the enemy will be obliged to retreat, renouncing his deportation plans, and his defeat will be hastened.

And thanks to our efforts, the victory of our Allies will also be the victory of France.[1]

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[1] Libération, #176, 14 April 1944

XXI. THE CHARTER OF RESISTANCE[1]

Born of the ardent wish of Frenchmen to refuse defeat, Resistance has no other reason to exist save for the daily struggle ceaselessly intensified.

This fighting mission must not end on the day of liberation. Only by regrouping all her forces around the quasi-unanimous aspirations of the Nation will France recover her moral and social equilibrium and restore to the world the image of her greatness and the proof of her unity.

The representatives of Resistance organizations, trade unions, and parties or political tendencies grouped within the National Council of Resistance,

Deliberating in plenary session on March 15th 1944,

Have decided to unite on the following program which includes both a plan of immediate action against the oppressor as well as measures designed to establish a more equitable social order as soon as the territory is liberated.

Plan of Immediate Action

The Representatives of Resistance organizations, trade unions, and parties or political tendencies grouped within the National Council of Resistance:

...Expressing their anguish before the physical destruction of the Nation which the Hitlerite oppressor carries out with the help of the men of Vichy, by suppressing all production useful to Frenchmen, by organized famine, by the deportation of workers up to several hundred thousand, by the imprisonment of 300,000 Frenchmen, and by the execution of the most valorous patriots, 50,000 of whom have fallen for France....[1]

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[1] Unless specified to the contrary, all the text is taken from Franc-Tireur, Zone-Sud, #30, 1 April 1944. The preamble contains a remark stating that the document gives "the main points" of the Charter of Resistance (les grandes lignes).

They proclaim their will to deliver the homeland by supporting wholeheartedly the impending operations of the French and Allied armies on the Continent, and they will increase by every possible means the struggle started in 1940 against the invader and his agents in order to hasten this liberation, to lighten the sufferings of our people, and to save the future of France.

They implore the British and American Governments no longer to deceive the hope and confidence which France, like all the oppressed peoples of Europe, has placed in their will to strike down Nazi Germany by launching large scale operations which will assure as soon as possible the liberation of invaded territories and will thus permit Frenchmen on their soil to join the Allied armies for the decisive test.

...They bring pressure to bear on the French Committee of National Liberation that they may do all that is possible to obtain arms for the patriots. They state that the Frenchmen who helped organize the Resistance do not want and cannot content themselves with passive action while awaiting outside aid, but that they wish to fight and they wish to develop their armed resistance against the invader and oppressor....[2]

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1. CID #84004, France, 28 April 1944; News Digest #1451, 19 May 1944
2. CID #84004, France, 28 April 1944

In order to mobilise the immense resources of energy of the French people, to direct them, united in purpose, along the path of salvation, the National Council of Resistance decides:

To ask the leaders of existing formations to form Committees in towns, villages, and enterprises. These will be constituted by the coordination of existing bodies, or, when none exist, by the creation of new Committees and the enrolling of those patriots not yet members of an organization.

All these Committees will be placed under the direction of Departmental Committees of Liberation (CDL). They will be under the authority of these Departmental Committees and will receive from them, as directives, the plan of action and political course determined by the National Council of Resistance.

...These Committees must:

1. Develop the struggle against deportation and help the réfractaires to hide, to feed themselves, to clothe themselves, and to defend themselves, thus weakening the enemy and increasing the human potential of Resistance;

2. Track down and punish the agents of the Gestapo and Darnand militia, as well as the informers and traitors;

3. Develop, on one hand, solidarity with prisoners and deportees, and, on the other, solidarity with the families of all the victims of Hitlerite and Vichy terror;

4. Develop fighting spirit and develop an effective struggle against the repression of the Nazis and French Fascists;

5. In agreement with the syndicalist organizations

of Resistance, struggle for the life and health of Frenchmen by a daily and incessant struggle with petitions, demonstrations, and strikes, and struggle in order to obtain an increase in salaries and wages frozen by Vichy, and an increase in food rations and essential supplies which have been reduced by Vichy regulations and German requisitions -- all this in order to provide the population with a minimum food supply, heating supply, and clothing supply;

6. Defend the conditions of the lives of ex-service men, prisoners, and the wives of prisoners by organizing the struggle to secure their own particular aims;

7. Lead the struggle against the requisitioning by the enemy of agricultural products, raw materials, and industrial installations; sabotage and paralyze the production destined for the enemy and his road, rail, and water transportation;

8. Defend agricultural producers against excessive levies and insufficient taxes, and struggle for the replacement of the trustees in the pay of Vichy and Germany by peasants devoted to the cause of the French peasantry....[1]

In addition to these daily tasks, the Committees must:

1. Reinforce the armed organizations of the FFI by increasing the number of patriot groups: groupes francs and franc-tireurs et partisans, recruited in particular among the réfractaires;

2. Organize patriotic militias in towns, villages, and enterprises, in agreement with the national, regional, and departmental staffs of the FFI. Engineers, technicians, teachers, officials, and reservist cadres, destined to defend public order and the lives and possessions of Frenchmen against terrorism and provocation, will

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[1] CID # 84004, France, 28 April 1944

help fill the ranks of these militias. Furthermore, the Committees must assure and maintain the effective authority of Departmental Committees of Liberation over all which will have been or will be created in that field, in close cooperation with the FFI, whose authority and discipline must be respected by all....In order to assure the full effectiveness of the above measures, the CNR states that the national staff of the FFI, while preparing in detail cooperation with the Allies in case of a landing must:

1. Order all FFI formations to fight the enemy now by harassing his troops, by paralyzing his transportation, communications, and war production, and by capturing his arms and munitions dumps, in order to equip those patriots still unarmed;

2. Order that all unused stocks of arms be distributed to those formations which might be judged most useful for fighting now and in the immediate future;

3. Organize the struggle rationally by following a plan established with the competent authorities on a national and regional level;

4. Coordinate military action with the resistance action of the mass of the Nation, proposing that the regional paramilitary organizations support and protect patriotic demonstrations, and demonstrations by the wives of prisoners, peasants, and workers against the Hitlerite police, that they put a stop to the requisitioning of food and industrial installations, and the seizing of réfractaires and strikers, and that they defend the lives and liberty of all Frenchmen against the barbaric oppression of the provisional occupier.

Thus by applying the decisions of the present plan of action, will all patriots be united in action, without distinction of political, philosophical, or religious opinions. Thus an experienced army will be constituted in the struggle, trained in combat and led by cadres tested by danger, an army capable of playing a part when the conditions of national insurrection will be realized, and an army which will progressively enlarge its objectives, ranks, and equipment.[1]

The effort and sacrifices of all will thus bring nearer the hour of liberation of the national territory, the lives of thousandss of Frenchmen will thus be saved, and immense riches will be preserved.

A purer and stronger France will thus be forged in the struggle, capable of undertaking, on the morrow of liberation, the greater task of the reconstruction and renovation of the homeland.

MEASURES TO BE APPLIED FROM THE MOMENT FRANCE IS LIBERATED

United as to the goal to attain, united as to the means to use in order to reach that goal, which is the speedy liberation of the territory, the representatives of movements, groups, parties, or political tendencies grouped within the National Council of Resistance, proclaim that they have decided to remain united after the liberation:

1st -- In order to establish the provisional Government of the Republic formed by General de Gaulle, for the defense of the Nation's political and economic independence, to restore France to her power, her greatness, and her universal mission.

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[1] CID #84004, 28 April 1944

2nd.-- In order to ensure the punishment of traitors and the eviction from the administration and professions of all those who have had dealings with the enemy or associated themselves actively with the policy of collaborationist governments.

3rd -- In order to obtain the confiscation of the property of traitors and black market traffickers, the establishment of a tax on war benefits and money made to the detriment of the people and the nation during the occupation, along with the confiscation of all enemy property, including shares acquired since the Armistice by the Governments of the Axis and their nationals in French and colonial enterprises of all kinds, with the constitution of these shares into an inalienable national patrimony.[1]

4th -- In order to ensure the establishment of a wider democracy, by the re-establishment of universal suffrage, the full freedom of thought, of conscience and expression, the freedom of the press in honor and independence as regards the State, the financial powers and foreign influence, the freedom of association, reunion and demonstration, the inviolability of the home and the privacy of correspondence, the respect of the human person and the absolute equality of all citizens before the law.

5th -- In order to bring about indispensable reforms:

(a) On the economic plane: The establishment of a true economic and social democracy, implying the eviction of the great economic and financial feudalities from the direction of economy; the national organization of economy, ensuring the subordination of private interest to the public interest, and free from the dictatorship of the professions established on the image of the Fascist States;... the intensification of national production, following the lines of a plan established by the State after consulation with the representatives of all the elements of this production[1]... the return to the Nation of the great means of production, of monopolies which are the fruit of common labor, of the sources of energy and mineral wealth, of the insurance companies and big banks; ... the development and support of agricultural and partisan production, purchase and sales cooperatives;[2]... the right to rise to office in direction and administration on the staff of an enterprise for workers endowed with the necessary qualifications and the participation of the workers in the direction of economy.

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[1] France, 4 May 1944; News Digest, #1451, 19 May 1944

(b) On the social plane: The right to work and the right to leisure, especially by the re-establishment and improvement of the contractual organization of labor; an important readjustment of salaries and the guarantee of a scale of salaries and wages ensuring security and dignity and the possibility of a fully human life for each worker and his family; the guarantee of the national buying power by a policy tending towards monetary stability; the reconstitution in its traditional liberty of an independent syndicalism, with wide powers in the organization of economic and social life; security of employment, the regulation of conditions of engagement and dismissal, the re-establishment of shop delegates; the raising and maintaining of the standard of living of agricultural workers.....

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1. France, 4 May 1944; News Digest, #1451, 19 May 1944
2. Ibid.

by a policy of remunerative agricultural prices improving on and generalizing the experiment of the Wheat Office, through social legislation granting the same rights to those in industry, by a system of insurance against agricultural disasters, by the re-establishment of an equitable statute of farming and métayage, by making accession to property easier for young peasant families, and by the realization of a plan of rural equipment;[1]...a pension permitting old workers to end their days in dignity; the compensation of victims of disasters and the granting of allocations and pensions to the victims of Fascist terror.

c. An extension of political, social, and economic rights for the native populations (on the colonial plane).

d. The effective possibility for French children to benefit by education and have access to the most developed culture whatever the financial situation of their parents, in order that the highest offices may be truly accessible to all those who have the requisite ability to exercise them, and that a true élite may thus be formed, not of birth but of merit, and constantly renewed from the people.

Thus will be founded the new Republic, which will sweep away the regime of base reaction installed by Vichy, and which will give the democratic and popular institutions the efficiency which the corruption and treachery which preceded the capitulation had made them lose. Thus will be made possible a democracy uniting the effective control exercised by the elect of the people with the continuity of Government action. The union of representatives of the Resistance for action in the present and the future, in the higher interests of the homeland, must be for all Frenchmen a token of confidence and a stimulant. This union must incite them to eliminate all spirit of particularism and all ferment of division which might restrain their action and only aid the enemy.

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[1] France, 4 May 1944; News Digest, #1451, 19 May 1944

Onward in the union of all Frenchmen gathered around the FCNL and its president, General de Gaulle! Onward to the fight! Onward to vicyory, that France may live![1]

XXII. ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE FCNL

The National Council of Resistance, considering that, both in the present struggle and after victory, the future of the country can only be assured by a policy of collective security, and that, while it is too early to see all the mechanisms of this policy, it is possible to start making preparations through pacts of mutual assistance with all states, large and small; and considering that this policy can only succeed if, besides the large allied nations, Anglo-Saxon and Soviet, it is based on the totality of the small states whose independence and security have been permanent necessities in French policy and have proved themselves to be indispensible conditions for the maintenance of lasting world peace;

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[1] *Franc-Tireur, Zone-Sud*, „ 30, 1 April 1944. Although this is the most complete version, it has been necessary to supplement it with passages taken from the versions given in CID „ 80864 (Summary of communique published in the *Bulletin Interieur des MUR*, „ 116, 5 April 1944), and *News Digest* „ 1451, 19 May 1944. Compare also *France* (London) 28 April and 4 May 1944; *L'Echo D'Alger*, 1 May 1944; Propanal, Radio France, 30 April 1944; Moscow wire, 1 May 1944. Compare also the resume of the Plan of Immediate Action given by Berlioz in the Consultative Assembly, and endorsed by Ribiere, *Journal Officiel de la Republique Française, Débats de l'Assemblee*, „ 46-7, 1 June 1944 pp 8 and 13. A draft of the Charter seems to have been submitted as early as January; it is published in the clandestine *La Nouvelle République*, 20 January 1944 (covering mainly the second part of the Charter). *Liberte* (Algiers) 20 April, published a summary of the Plan of Immediate Action and said that it had been adopted by the CNR on 28 February 1944. The second part of the resolution is published in *Fraternité* (Algiers) 6 May 1944.

resolves to invite the French Committee of National Liberation to study, particularly along the lines of the Anglo-Soviet pact of 1942 and the Czech-Soviet pact of 1943, the possibility of concluding with all the Allied states, large and small, which are willing, pacts of mutual assistance, in which reciprocal non-intervention is inspired by the spirit of collective security.[1]

XXIII. ORDER OF THE DAY TO THE FRENCH FORCES OF THE INTERIOR

The CNR, faced with the attack against the Savoy and Corrèze Maquis by the "French" and German SS, asks the national general staff of the FFI and all paramilitary resistance organizations to increase their harassing action against the enemy with all the armed forces at their disposal.

The CNR renews the order already given that arms in dumps be distributed at once in order to permit action all over France capable of diverting enemy forces from their present objective of repression.

It asks the Departmental Committees of Liberation to meet and to take practical measures with a view to developing action against the Germans and the militiamen of the *Waffen-SS* Darnand. This action should be aimed at causing the enemy to abandon his offensive against the Maquis as well as supporting the strikes in favór of the réfractaires, represented in the CNR.[1]

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[1] Quoted by Florimond Bonté in the Consultative Assembly, 12 May 1944; (*Journal Officiel de la République Française*, 1 June 1944)

XXIV. FOR UNITY IN RESISTANCE AND IN SUPPORT OF THE FCNL

The National Council of Resistance is certain to express the will of the Nation in rejecting all attitudes and declarations, whatever the intentions behind them, which might harm the cohesion of Frenchmen in the war.

For this reason, the CNR regrets that attacks or disparaging statements should have been directed against members of the FCNL at a time when Frenchmen, united behind the legitimate Government of the Nation, must do away with private quarrels and have no other aim except to wage the struggle all together in resolution and sacrifice... Resistance, which is giving this example, will follow this course until victory, and after victory, until the period of reconstruction.[2]

XXV. ON THE ROLE OF THE COMITÉS DÉPARTMENTAUX DE LA LIBÉRATION (CDLS)

General Aims

The Departmental Committees of Liberation at the outset were considered only as consultative organizations going into action only after the Liberation and only to assist the provisional government in its task. Today they are apparently, and must be, the souls of the Departments which, under their command, struggle for their liberation.

The Departmental Committees of Liberation, agencies of the fighting patriots, must extend their activity toward immediate action against the enemy and his accomplices.

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1. Libération, # 176, 14 April 1944
2. Le Populaire, April 1944, Le Populaíre headlined the quotation "Réponse à Combat, and said that the resolution was especially concerned with the attacks made by the clandestine paper "Combat against Vincent Auriol and André le Trocquer.

The Departmental Committees of Liberation, agencies of patriots who desire a free France, mistress of her own destiny and capable of governing herself, must prepare for the solution of the problems which will be raised in all departments on the day of Liberation.

Immediate action underground, preparation for insurrection, preparation for later public action in the framework of the Department, such are the present and permanent tasks of the Departmental Committees.

These tasks are enumerated in the articles of the organic statute below. More detailed instructions will further define them.

Conditions of Admission

To belong to a Departmental Committee of Liberation is an honor which is deserved not by credit easily acquired in peace time, but by risks run and sacrifices accepted in the refusal of defeat and its abdications.

The Departmental Committee of Liberation is neither a Conseil général, nor an image of the electoral ticket of the Department. Belonging to it are representatives of the Mouvements de Résistance, of the principal resisting workers organizations, and those representing the large tendencies and political parties who, in the departmental territory, bring to the liberation activities organized and active forces. Also allowed to belong to a Departmental Committee of Liberation are local personalities whose patriotic attitude has been irreproachable and who, by reason of services rendered to the cause of liberty and their local reputations, are able to reinforce the authority and effectiveness of the Committee.

Experience in Resistance has proven the risks of every clandestine meeting. These risks, more important in the little cities than in the great urban centers, are still more increased by the meeting of men often knowing each other's identity and not always respecting the discipline required by the life of the combattant fighting on the interior front.

It is therefore essential that the Committees, while keeping up their strongest efforts, take all necessary measures to reduce risks to the minimum.

Obligations of the Committees

The Departmental Committees of Liberation are required:-

-to limit full meetings to the minimum absolutely necessary and if possible to hold these meetings in a neighboring department at least in an important locality hwere the Committee members are not known.

-to form or endorse, at the first full meeting, a small group of officers (un bureau restreint), to be the active core of the Committee charged with coordinating and directing the active labors of the Committee: immediate action (action immediate), preparation for the insurrectional phase, preparation for the assistance to be given to the future governmental agencies (futurs pouvoirs publics).

Two essential principles must guide the Departmental Committees of Liberation in the choice of their executive committees (noyau actif): efficiency and unity.

In the period of clandestine combat which will last until Liberation, the Departmental Committees must entrust their leadership to men proven in action, familiar with the life and organization of Resistance, and capable of efficient direction of the patriot energies which the Committees represent.

In order to ensure united action, patricular care must be given to the liaison between the members of the executive committee and the other members of the Departmental Committee, that consultation may take place rapidly and that the acts of the executives will be sustained by the uncontested authority of the whole Committee.

In the heart of each Departmental Committee of Liberation, the executive committee must constantly take care to ensure consistency of efforts, and the participation of all, according to their aptitudes and abilitíes, in the work of fighting and of liberation.

It follows that all the members of the Departmental Committee of Liberation must be consulted, directly or indirectly, in order to settle the essential questions of immediate action, insurrectional combat, and of preparation for the work of the future pouvoirs publics. Solutions must be arrived at in common, so that on the day of Liberation they may have the authority that comes only from the union of patriots in combat.

The Departmental Committees of Liberation, holding their powers from their contact with the people, are organizations which have the autonomy necessary for any local action, taking their places within the general organization of French Resistance. As such they receive instructions from the Conseil National de la Résistance and must report (to the CNR) on their execution.

Composition of the Departmental Committees of Liberation

Article I - A Departmental Committee of Liberation is formed in each Department.

Article 2 - The Departmental Committees of Liberation unite for action, and in action, all the resisting forces of the department. They are composed of representatives of the Mouvements de Résistance, of those of the great workers organizations, of the resistance representatives of the great local political tendencies or parties, and eventually local personalities not engaged in a movement or a Party but whose patriotic attitude has been irreproachable.

Article 3 - The maximum number of members of a Departmental Committee of Liberation is for the present period limited to ten. This may be raised to 18 at the most in the post-liberated period. In case vacancies occur in the Committees, they should be filled by means of cooptation, the new members designated representing, so far as possible, the same political tendencies or movements as their predecessors. The Commission of the Committees of Liberation will be informed of changes made.

Article 4 - Single in principle, to rally Resistance forces, the mission of the Departmental Committees of Liberation will vary according to time.

1° - In the clandestine period: To coordinate immediate action against the enemy and his accomplices, to prepare for national insurrection and for the task of the governmental agencies (pouvoir publics) on the day of Liberation.

2° - In the insurrectionary period: To lead and coordinate patriot action designed to dislocate German forces and annihilate enemy agents. To facilitate the establishment of new governmental agencies, notably the representatives of the Central Power.

3° - After the installation of the new authorities: to be the provisional representatives of the population of the department close to the authorities designated by the Central Power and to aid the latter in their work.

Article 5 - Role of the Committees in the clandestine period:

1° - The Committees of Liberation will coordinate immediate action in all its forms in daily combat against the enemy forces. They will coordinate appeals to the population, manifestations, aid to recalcitrants (réfractaires), strikes and all mass actions, and will form, for this purpose, the necessary Commissions.

They will strive to create, at the botton, organizations of patriotic union recognizing the Conseil National de la Résistance (local Committees of Liberation); they will coordinate the activities of local Committees at present in existence as well as those of new Committees created.

2°- In close liaison with the local État-Major (headquarters) of the FFI (Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur) they will prepare measures to be taken on the day of the uprising in order to coordinate military action with the insurrectionary movement, and will transmit to the État-Major the necessary directives for the replacement of unworthy officials and will study the setting up of provisional municipalities.

In order to facilitate the task of the future pouvoirs publics, they will aid in the cleaning out of the public services, they will prepare immediate measures of épuration (purge) and neutralization of traitors. They will make the necessary arrangements for setting uo provisional administrations. They will propose plans for the food supply (ravitaillement) of the Departments and solutions for local problems of press and information.

Article 6 - Role of the Committees during the insurrectionary period:

On the day of Liberation the mission of the Departmental Committees of Liberation is to bring together, in the final struggle against the enemy and his accomplices, all the patriotic forces of the Department; to rally non-organized patriots; and to lead and coordinate all actions and energies in the struggle. They will be responsible, if need be, for facilitating the installation of new authorities whose activities they must support, to arrest traitors and suspects, and to put into execution the plans of ravitaillement, transportation, and communications. The Departmental Committees of Liberation will be responsible for the protection of the public services of the department.

Article 7 - Role of the Committees after the installation of the new public authorities (pouvoirs publics):

After the installation of the new public authorities, the Departmental Committees of Liberation, eventually enlarged, will be charged with representing the departmental population to the Central Government (pouvoir central). In relation to the prefect they will play the role of a provisional consultative assembly.

To ensure a larger representation of public opinion, the Departmental Committees of Liberation can then designate new members, chosen among persons whose resistance has been authentic, notably among patriots imprisoned by the enemy and his accomplices.

Functioning of the Departmental Committees of Liberation

Article 8 - The Departmental Committees of Liberation operate within the framework of instructions set forth by the Conseil National de la Résistance and under its authority. They maintain close relations with the local representatives accredited by the Conseil National de la Résistance.

Article 9 - For reasons of security and efficiency, the coordination of immediate action and the preparations for taking power must be entrusted to a small executive committee (un noyau actif restreint) which may constitute the Bureau du Comité Départmental de la Libération.

Article 10 - The executive committee (or Bureau du Comité) ensures liaison between the members of the Comité, between the Comité and the national services, and ensures the distribution of tasks and responsibilities among the members of the Comité.

The executive committee of the Departmental Committees of Liberation must be made up in such a way as to guarantee the representation of the principal movements and tendencies which compose the Committee. In designating their executive committees the Departmental Committees must take their inspiration essentially from the necessities of action and of struggle. They must therefore entrust the leadership of their activities by priority to patriots able to command the troops from now on engaged in action.

Recognition of the Departmental Committees of Liberation

Artile 11 - The recognition of the Departmental Committees of Liberation will be subject to the following conditions:

1° - Establishment of a provisional list enumberating, without indicating the names of the representatives, the principal movements of Resistance, the local parties or political tendenices, and the great workers organizations represented on the Committee.

2° - Setting up of an executive committee in the fashion outlined.

3° - Establishment of permanent liaison among the members of the executive committee, and of frequent liaison between the executive committee and the other members of the Departmental Committee.

Artile 12 - Differences which may arise concerning the composition of the Committees will be submitted to the Commission des Comités de la Libération, du Conseil National de la Résistance, with final appeal to the Bureau du Conseil National de la Résistance.

Miscellaneous arrangements

Article 13 - The expenses of the Departmental Committees of Liberation (travel allowances for Committee members, secretarial expenses, compensation to permanent members) will be covered in requests for credits from the Commission des Comites de la Liberation du Conseil National de la Resistance.

Article 14 - The title "Comité Départmental de la Libération" is strictly reserved to those departmental Committees formed, recognized, and in operation according to the regulations in this instruction. Only one Departmental Committee can exist in each department.

Article 15 - The Committees must abstain ffom interfering with the operations and local activities of Resistance movements or parties and the parties and movements must abstain from any activity that may be harmful to the task of coordinating efforts assumed by the Committees.[1]

Resolutions of the CNR'S Commission of departmental Committees of Liberation

1. On Municipal Governments

1st. The CDL are charged with perfecting the formation of new city governments which will function temporarily until the municipal elections determined by the Government.

2nd. In order to mark their exceptional and provisional character clearly, new city governments will be titled "Provisional City Governments."

3rd. For the same reason, the number of members of these city governments will be considerably lower, in each city, than the number of city councillors provided by law.

4th. The city governments to be appointed will be city governments of action, whose essential task will be to meet the most urgent demands of the populations which, since July 1940, were most often abandoned by those who were in charge of their interests.

5th. The appointment of these city governments is imposed to replace the city governments appointed by Vichy and those which placed themselves in its service.

6th. It is imposed also on reason of the former electoral origin of the elected assemblies, whose mandate has expired, of the numerous deaths which have occurred during this long period, of the even more numerous voids created by arrests and deportations, and

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[1] CID # 78163 April 1944; CID # 77995 June 1944; Confidential source, 20 July 1944

finally by reason of the new aspirations of the patriots, born of the suffering of the occupation and of the struggle against the enemy.

7th. To these first obstacles to the reestablishment of the former assemblies is added the imperious necessity of eliminating a great number of former municipal councillors who have demonstrated a spirit of servility in regard to Vichy, of collaboration with the enemy.

8th. The local problems posed by these eliminations and replacements are such that they will more easily resolved by the appointment of new city governments than the reestablishment of the former assemblies with a purge. But it goes without saying that every time the former municipal councillors have been able to retain by their patriotic attitude, the confidence of the citizens, they should figure prominently in the proposals of the CDL, so that the provisional city governments will benefit by their experience in local affairs.

9th. The composition of the city governments should materialize the union of patriots, and recall to a certain extent that of the CDL. To this end, the CDL will be guided by the bases and proportions which is suggested to them by the examination of the local situations, to assure the resistance movements, the labor organizations, the political tendencies or parties, a representation corresponding to the action taken toward liberation and to the feelings of the population.

10th. In the choice of men, the CDL will be guided by the concern of donfining the responsibilities of proved patriots whose action since 1940 inspires the widest confidence and whose energy is able to cope with the immense needs of the population at the moment of liberation.

11th. The CDL are invited to constitute immediately if they have not already done so, a special commission charged with looking into the harmony of the Movements, organizations, tendencies and parties, and to present its proposals to the plenary Committee.

12th. The composition of the provisional city governments will be determined by the CDL from the proposals of the local Committees. These provisional city governments will be appointed by prefectoral decrees. The appointments will have the scope of an investiture only when the prefect is in accord with the whole of the CDL.

13th. If, by accident, the appointed prefect is not able to occupy his post, the president of the CDL. will provisionally assume his functions until a new prefect can be appointed by the Commissioner of the Republic.

--Commissioner CDL's 11 April 1944[1]

2. Addendum on Municipal Governments.

The CNR has sent to the CDL's instructions dated 11 April, concerning the setting up of new city governments functioning temporarily until the municipal elections determined by the Government.

Although, in articles 3 and 9 of these instructions, no mention is made of the local Committees of Liberation (CLL) it should be understood that, wherever they function with the recognition of the CDL., it is they who should serve as a base for the composition of new city governments.

In other words, wherever a CLL exists, it will not be a matter of forming a new city government by replacing the councillors in the old one who are judged unworthy by the members of the CLL but, on the contrary, a matter of joining if there is room, the former municipal councillors with a patriotic attitude to the CLL which will be kept whole.

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[1] Confidential source, 20 July 1944

We wish to remind you that the total number of members should, however, always be less than the number of municipal councillors provided by law.

Commissioner CDL 13 May 1944[1]

3. To all the members of Departmental Committee of Liberation.

To be a member of a CDE is not an honorary post which can be put to use once liberty is assured.

It is a combat post. The "action program of the Resistance" adopted by the whole CNR as well as the last directives, sufficiently show the immense tasks which are imposed on and must be accomplished by the CDL.

That is why we remind you again that a member of a CDL and especially of an "active nucleus" who stays away, without a really important reason, from a meeting, checks the work of the Committee and impedes the whole preparation of the National Insurrection.

For greater reason, personal antagonisms or differences of political opinion cannot be placed above the supreme interest of the country, and motivate absence from business meetings of a CDL. The hour of teapot tempests has passed. It is now a question of France.

We demand then, in particular of the members of a bureau of CDL, that they consider themselves honor bound when they accept this responsibility.

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[1] Confidential source, 20 July 1944

When the absences of a member of the Bureau of CDL are repeated without a very serious reason, and prove thereby that this representative of the organization under-estimates the role of the C.D.L. in the preparation of the National Insurrection and of the Liberation of the country, the other members of the Bureau will be justified in asking this organization to delegate another representative.

If the organization does not make this designation as soonaas possible, the CDL should indicate to the CNR that it is functioning without a representative from the delinquent organization. The commission of the CDL of the CNR will take over the direction of the delinquent organization until it is a matter of a resistance group of national character and represented on the CNR, so that this situation, detrimental to the action and unity of resistance in a department, can be remedied.

It is well understood that a member, absent from a regularly, called meeting of a Bureau of a CDE, has in no case the right to consider invalid any decision adopted by the members of the Bureau who were present.

The hour of action for all has come.

Each one should take on his responsibilities and put everything into effect for the application of the decisions of the CNR in order to hasten the liberation of our nation and assure its independence.

Commissioner CDL's, 13 May 1944[1]

4. Concerning Arrests

Clandestine Period:

For the CDL it is not a question of seeking out, during this period, all those who have collaborated or committed treason; this research would go beyond their possibilities. It will be pursued after the liberation, with means of information and investigation which are now lacking. All those who have aided the enemy, abused their powers, or handed over Frenchmen, will be punished. But their first task, without prejudice of immediate action which should be directed against traitors and informers, is to prepare a list of people who are both most representative and most dangerous, so that, when the moment comes, they will be immediately put where they can do no harm. This work will be inspired at first by the concern for security, then by the concern for not letting the responsible principals escape the action of justice, and finally by the concern for inspiring in the nation, by first striking treason at its head, confidence in the new justice which diverts it from personal vendeances.

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[1] Confidential source, 20 July 1944

Two categories of arrests are to be anticipated:

The first includes a certain number of persons who, by reason of their functions, should be automatically kept from activity. These are notably the principal agents of the repression of patriots, the cadres and the most notorious members pf the militia, the directors of Vichy information and propaganda services, the organizers and directors of political groups which preached collaboration, PPF etc... and the members of courts martial.

The second category includes the individuals, whateverytheir public or private functions, whose attitudes and speech has been particularly scandalous in the course of the past few months.

Insurrectional Period;

In the peridd of insurrectional combat, the CDL permits all measures necessary to animate the insurrection and assure its success. In particular, militiamen and avowed traitors are to be reduced to impotence. Once the insurrectional combat period has passed, and until the prefect is installed, the CDL is charged, under the responsibility of its president, with conducting the arrests anticipated in the preceding paragraph. It is a matter of taking all security measures destined to reduce the guilty to a state of impotence to prepare for the action of justice and putting them in its hands.

Commissioner CDL's. 15 May 1944[1]

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[1]. Confidential source, 20 July 1944

XXVI CONCERNING SECURITY

TO ALL RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS
TO ALL COMMITTEES OF LIBERATION
TO ALL FRENCH PATRIOTS

At the time when the military superiority of the Allies is asserted on all fronts,

On the eve of the supreme effort which will consummate the defeat of Germany, when after four years of resistance to the oppressor, the French patriots see the long awaited dawn of Liberation,

The repression organized on national soil by the enemy at bay is becoming heavier and more savage. Placed by Pétain and Laval at the head of the Vichy police, the Waffen SS Darnand is giving the Gestapo all the assistance in his power.

This is the time for the French patriots to redouble their vigilance. The endeavors of the militia and the Gestapo will be in vain if the French Resistance can use in its effort all the resources of prudence with which the habit of struggle is in a position to arm its courage. It is beyond doubt that in the initial success of the Police or Gestapo against the patriots, there was almost always insufficient vigilance and sometimes violation of the fundamental principles of security.

Too numerous examples, some of which are recent, can illustrate a proof many times given, but which, unhappily, continues not to be understood. Too many facts attest that certain patriots have not repudiated resolutely enough the methods of rashness or of facility. It has resulted, in the course of the past few weeks, in a considerable worsening of the situation on the resistance front. This situation will continue to get worse until increased vigilance puts an end to ways of doing things which are more dangerous today than yesterday, and will be more dangerous tomorrow than today.

From these particulars, the C. N. R. draws the following conclusions, which it addresses to all Resistance Groups, Committees of Liberation, and patriots.

It asks each one to apply them most strictly and to indicate to the C. N. R. office any infraction which might endanger the general security of French Resistance. Carelessness and negligence today are crimes aiding the Gestapo. We are surrounded by well-organised enemies who have at their disposal great means for action: our discipline should be raised as high as that of combatants who are carrying on an armed fight for the freedom of the country.

Directives

A. Choice and Conduct of Militants

1° - No one should be enlisted in any service without furnishing references, and without these references being verified.

2° - Every head of a service has the duty of controling in the strictest manner the behavior of the comrades under his authority, their exactness, their habits, their faithfulness to orders. Any proof of lack of seriousness in this respect of any ambiguity of attitude should be followed immediately by close surveillance.

3° - It is forbidden for any militant to maintain direct relations with his family, for that is where the police expect him. Family news can always be obtained by devious routes with at least two intermediaries.

4° - One of the favorite methods of the German or French police consists of using women. By this means, great losses have been sustained several times by the Resistance. For any serious militant, that is one more reason, not mentioning others, for him to watch his private life. The security of his comrades demands an exemplary life from everyone.

5° - The first quality of a militant is discretion. He is forbidden to say anything to anybody about what he does or what he knows. He is not to ask questions to find out anything which is not useful for the accomplishment of his mission. Chatterers and boasters have done as much harm as the traitors.

6° - Watch out for conversations. There are certain words which, even spoken in a whisper, are easy to understand.. For example, the use of terms like "Resistance," "London," "Algiers," "Moscow," "U.S.S.R.," "De Gaulle," "party," "movement," "organization," "Liberation," "Communism," "Socialist," etc....must be avoided. Avoid whispers in a low voice, quick changes of tone or breaking off conversations, which, by themselves, are enough to attract attention. Generally, do not discuss subjects concerning resistance in any public place (restaurants, cafes, trains, buses, subways, etc....) It is well to remember the posters of the other war, full of present reality for patriots: "Keep quiet, beware, enemy ears are listening."

7° - Any appointment which is not kept demands a clear explanation. It is forbidden to enlist anyone who has been expelled from any other resistance movement.

B. Domicile of Patriots

1° - The domicile of a patriot residing illegally should be known only to the friend who extends this hospitality, to the exclusion of everyone else, including the militants who are working with him.

2° - The same house should never be used as the domicile of several militants.

3° - It is forbidden to live with a family which has already been troubled by the police. The police and the Gestapo are far from having exhausted their lists of suspects. Frequently people who are convinced that they have been forgotten are the objects of fresh investigations.

4° - Any militant residing illegally should not withdraw his ration cards or have them withdrawn, for the police conduct their searches through this channel every day, and have succeeded in finding a number of patriots that way.

5° - Only indispensible material must be kept at the residence, as well hidden as possible and ready to be destroyed in case of necessity. The door should always be locked. In case of a hasty departure, he should always have at hand what is absolutely necessary to take away.

6° - In the house where he lives, a militant residing illegally should have a normal existence and bearing, avoid a distrustful attitude or appear concerned. Without giving the impression of being very interested in his neighbors, he should make sure that they do not belong to the police, the Milice, the P. P. F., the R. N. P., the L. V. F., or the Gestapo.

C. Moving

1° - In principle, go out in the morning and don't come back until evening.

2° - The fundamental duty of a militant is to make sure that he is not being followed before he goes home, and that not when coming into his own section or street, but well before reaching it, even if this precaution requires some detours and a few extra minutes. The only way to be absolutely certain of not being followed is to take deserted streets, because nobody tries to look more like an ordinary passer-by than a policeman.

3° - In leaving home, as in returning, always use different routes. Never go to the same restaurant or café. Never board or leave a bus or subway at the same stop. A policeman who is following a militant is capable of finding him farther along his habitual route, in case he loses him, and the careless man who returns to a place where the police have once seen him will end up by being taken, because the police have lots of time and will watch him a week or two or even more if they think it necessary.

4° - In Paris, patriots should avoid as much as possible those parts of the subway which are subject to particularly attentive surveillance by the police. Railway trains and stations are as dangerous in Paris as in Provence, and if they cannot be avoided, a particularly acute vigilance is demanded.

D. Liaisons

1° - Have only those contacts which are absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of the work.

2° - Rendezvous should be chosen judiciously. In Paris, do not hesitate to go to the suburbs where the police are less numerous than in the center of the capital.

3° - Invariably change rendezvous and never use those which are used by other patriots.

4° - Be precisely on time; being early is as dangerous a practice as being late. In both cases someone has to wait around and run the risk of being noticed.

5° - Don't arrange a rendezvous at a fixed place; the best solution is to meet while walking in a limited area. Choose by preference a street 200 to 300 metres long, and each arrive at an opposite end, which allows both to see if the partner is coming alone. If the street is too long, fix the meeting place, for example, between the numbers 10 and 100. If the street is too crowded, do not get together right away, but follow the partner who will go to a more deserted spot in an adjacent street, taking care that neither is being followed.

6° - Forbid rendezvous too close together; a rather long lapse of time between two rendezvous can alone permit the assurance of not being followed.

7° - No patriot should put his rendezvous down in plain writing, even with a shifting of days and hours; the police know all these tricks.

8° - No rendezvous should be communicated by plain writing.

9° - It is formally forbidden to give a third person the precise place of a rendezvous or to take anyone along without previously advising the interested party.

10° - In case of being cut off, have a fixed secondary point, different for each of the patriots with whom contact is maintained, and which is used exclusively in such cases. In case of missing a rendezvous, go to the secondary point the next day, at an hour agreed upon in advance.

11° - Meetings should be as short as possible and as seldom as possible. They should be surrounded with particularly rigid precautions. Especially, none of the participants should know in advance the address to which he is going. Everyone will be provided with an outside rendezvous from which whoever is organizing the meeting will have him taken to the place provided. Departures and arrivals should be spread out. The place should have been inspected beforehand, it should be made sure that it has never been used for clandestine activities, and that those who offer it are suspected neither by the police, their neighbors, nor the concierge.

E. Service Organizations

1° - The strictest secrecy should be observed in and between organizations;

2° - The location of offices of each organization should be known only by the personnel employed in them.

3° - Avoid having responsible people work in places where typists are working.

4° - Never leave lists of names or addresses of these offices. Likewise concerning codes and archives, all these documents should be secured, under the responsibility of a single patriot, in a secret place other than his domicile.

5° - Transportation of material demands that it be camouflaged so that it does not constitute a cause of arrest in case of search. Each liaison agent should always be thinking of this problem so as to be on idea ahead of the police and be constantly on his guard against surprise by a roundup in the street, in the subway, streetcar, or bus. Female liaison agents will avoid carrying documents in their handbags, and will preferably conceal them on their persons.

F. Struggle Against Informing and Provocation

1° - Every patriot should know that in case of arrest it is his duty not to give a word of information to the police. Not only should he know it, but he should repeat it to all his comrades in the struggle. By talking, a militant is not limited to betraying his comrades and Resistance, he worsens his own fate because he gives concrete proof of his activity which, in almost all cases, the police do not know. At the same time, he increases the risk of bad treatment, because the torturers always go to work on a weak link who talks in the hope that he will say more. Moreover, nine times out of ten, the police bandits do away with him afterward to make certain that he won't talk outside about the treatment he got. Besides, there are thousands who kept quiet. Every militant should have it uppermost in his mind that he is responsible for the security of all the comrades who work with him, as they are responsible for his. Whoever talks loses his honor, betrays his country, and sells his companions. The pride of Resistance is that those who broke were so few in proportion to those who held out. The example of their comrades who went through it is, for all patriots, a rule to which, in case of misfortune, they should conform at any price, without exception.

Every informer should be warned that even if, by his cowardice, he should succeed in winning the indulgence of the police or the Gestapo, his situation would be no better. In such a case, he will later have to settle accounts before the Resistance, and he won't have any indulgence to look forward to.

2° - It happens that patriots are arrested and then released. The liberation of an arrested militant is often one of the procedures used by the police or Gestapo, in view of recruiting agents in the heart of resistance organizations. Even without there being any betrayal on the part of the liberated fighter, the police may, in any case, plan to follow him and through him get hold of other comrades.

The C. N. R. gives the order to cut off relations immediately with all militants who get out of prison, until an inquiry takes place and categorical assurance is obtained that no police measures are operating in regard to the released comrade.

All the militants of the whole of the resistance organizations will bear it in mind to conform to the security directions enumerated above and the chiefs of the organizations will make it a duty to be on a sharp lookout.

Let us not forget that 400,000 of our men have already been imprisoned and 55,000 have been shot. On the eve of the supreme offensives, everything must be done to keep these considerable losses from being increased by our imprudences. The safety of all depends on the vigilance of each. This is the price of victory, and the liberation of the country will be our reward.

4 April 1944 [1]

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1. Confidential source, 20 July 1944.

XXVII NOTE TO THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEES OF LIBERATION AND THE DEPARTMENTAL GENERAL STAFFS OF F.F.I.

We are communicating to you below the essential directives which are to direct the relations which should exist on the departmental level between the F.F.I. and the Departmental Committees of Liberation, relations which it is important to make harmonious, for the good of the common struggle against the enemy and the traitors.

Remember that on the national level the F.F.I. are placed under the high command of the National Council of Resistance, acting in France in accord with the F.C.N.L. The National General Staff receives from the C.N.R. the general political directives which should orient the action of the F.F.I.

On the departmental level, the Committee of Liberation is the representative of the C.N.R., and thus the representative of all Resistance in the department. By virtue of this, the departmental General Staff is subject to the Committee of Liberation, from which it receives political directives and orientation of action (aid of the F.F.I. in a strike, a mass demonstration, defense of a _maquis_, etc....)

A contact should be established between the departmental General Staff and the Committee of Liberation or its bureau. The person who is responsible for the department can be called in by the C.D.L. any time it judges it necessary, and he can demand to be heard when he considers it useful.

It remains understood that what has just been said does not discount the fact that the F.F.I. have their own hierarchy. By virtue of this, the departmental General Staff is subject to the regional General Staff, whose orders it receives and must carry out.

4 April 1944 [1]

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1. Confidential source, 20 July 1944

XXVIII ON THE FFI

In agreement with the military representative of the Committee of National Liberation, the CNR has taken the following decisions concerning the French Forces of the Interior (FFI):

Whoever joins the FFI must recognize as France's sole Government the Committee of National Liberation and the National Council of Resistance as the supreme authority of Resistance inside France. This includes the aims and the means used for liberation. The FFI must further share their reserves of arms. [1]

XXIX ON THE VICHY COURTS MARTIAL

The National Council of Resistance,

Considering that the Courts Martial, instituted in the name of Philippe Pétain by Darnand's Waffen SS, have the unique task of assassinating patriots, and that this task has been docilely accomplished by them,

Greatly regrets that a debased magistrature has been able to find no means of rising publicly against a judicial regime which no French government, were it the most discredited, has ever, in the worst times of our civil disorders, dared the equivalent,

Proclaims to the world that exemplary punishment will soon answer for these crimes, with no chance for remission,

And makes known in consequence that the fact of having belonged to a Court Martial which pronounced the condemnation of a patriot constitutes the crime of assassination.

This crime deserves death with the least possible delay.

Warning is given, in irrevocable form, to all those who make a business of treason.

5 April 1944 [2]

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1. Pressintel, Berne, 26 May 1944
2. Confidential source, 20 July 1944

XXX WARNING TO MEMBERS OF THE POLICE FORCES

The National Council of Resistance, gathering together on the soil of the homeland all the groups fighting for the deliverance of France and all political tendencies faithful to the Nation, and in full agreement with the French Committee of National Liberation,

Informed that certain members of the French police arrest, torture, and surrender to the enemy those patriots known to be Communists, Socialists, or members of trade unions, with the thought that these crimes are less serious than similar crimes committed against patriots of another background,

Convinced of the necessity of uniting all patriots in one indissoluble whole, and conscious of the necessity of frustrating all the efforts of the enemy and his agents aimed at dividing the French people,

Proclaims that all the patriots, who are fighting and risking their lives to liberate France, are indissolubly united for the struggle and victory, regardless of their religion, class party, and the Resistance group to which they might belong. The Council proclaims that all attempts to establish racial, religious, social, or political discriminations are manoeuvres of the enemy or services rendered the enemy.

The CNR further declares that patriots cannot admit distinctions among themselves. Whoever strikes one patriot, strikes all patriots.

The Council affirms that all crimes committed against patriots will be punished as the FCNL has promised.

It (the CNR) to-day addresses a new formal and categorical warning to those French policemen who arrest, torture, and surrender to the enemy French patriots. The CNR warns these policemen, especially the members of the Brigades spéciales, that whatever the precautions, dissimulations, changes of identity, and personal protections by which they might seek impunity for their crimes, all crimes will be punished pitilessly by the Nation united in its will for justice as it is united in its will to fight.

The National Council of Resistance, the representative and symbol of the unity of Frenchmen, is resolved to reject all divisionary manoeuvres (including terrorist divisionary manoeuvres) and makes known once more to those concerned this final warning brought closer by the day of reckoning. [1]

XXXI FURTHER APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOR RECOGNITION OF THE FCNL

As the decisive days are nearing, for which the French people are preparing with the fighting spirit and self-sacrifice of which they have been giving a heroic example for years, the National Resistance Council renews its formal assurance to the Allies, that the French people are determined to do all that they will have the means of accomplishing, in view of taking their full share in the great effort for the liberation.

The Council solemnly states that all hardships will be accepted, all suffering will be born and all measures will be obeyed since all this will be made necessary by the war and the necessities of the struggle.

We proclaim that for a nation that has been ravaged, betrayed, trampled under foot and that for four years has been crushed, body and soul, liberty and independence are all the more valuable, because they are the nation's only heritage. When people have not given up, under bondage, they will certainly not give up on the day of liberty.

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[1] Undated tract of the CNR; also La France au Combat, May 1944. Partial citation in France (London) 8 May 1944. Bulletin d'Information du Front National #1, 15 November 1943.

Only one government, the French Committee of National Liberation, which is the true image of our nation at war, is the legitimate government of France. This government is the only one that is qualified to speak for France.

The National Resistance Council, in session in France under the reign of Nazi terror, is the daily witness of the country's trials and feelings, and the representative and undisputed leader of the nation at war: the Council notes that its repeated appeals to the United Nations for obtaining the plenary recognition of the legitimate government of France, have not, up until now, met with the desired results; and cannot understand the reasons for this delay, which French opinion feels deeply.

The Council is convinced that the full recognition of the French Committee of National Libération is inevitable and logical, and as common sense and necessity will bring this about sooner or later, the Council consequently refuses to beg for an act of justice, which we have waited for so long that we cannot ask for it again.

At the time when the supreme attack is being prepared and in the interest of the present as well as the future struggle, the Council entreats the United Nations and their governments not to be indifferent to the impatient wish of all Frenchmen who are true to their claims, and stresses that a nation like ours will never abandon any of its rights, dignity, or power.

7 April 1944 [1]

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[1] French Press and Information Service, Document Series II, #933 E, 15 May 1944; Confidential source, 20 July 1944. Partial reproduction in N. Y. Herald Tribune, 10 May 1944.

XXXII ON THE ENTRANCE OF COMMUNISTS INTO THE GOVERNMENT

At the moment when, by the entrance of representatives of the Communist Party into the F.C.N.L., the total unity of the Patriots, already realised in the struggle and expressed in the composition of the C.N.R., comes to its logical conclusion by being affirmed in the government itself, --

The National Council of Resistance

Salutes with lively satisfaction an event which is in conformity with the vow of Frenchmen of all origins who struggle shoulder to shoulder in forgetfulness of and scorn for the former divisions.

Sees in it a new pledge of understanding and friendship among soldiers of the same cause, and consequently a promise for greater effectiveness in the present combat, for more active cooperation in the effort to come.

Records the failure of German-Vichy propaganda which seeks vainly to trouble and to divide the nation, by brandishing the bolshevik menace.

Proclaims again that only the traitors and their accomplices are and will remain excluded from the fraternal community of the Frenchmen who are reconciled in struggle and sacrifice.

And invites the patriots, in these days when victory approaches, to face their destiny with a courage strengthened by confidence in the future of the country.

7 April 1944 [1]

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[1] Confidential source, 20 July 1944

XXXIII ON 1 MAY 1944

Following the appeal of syndical organizations the workers are going to make the 1st of May a day of demands and of action for liberation.

The whole nation will be at their side.

Thanks to their patriotism the workers have never ceased to be in the advance guard of the struggle against the invader; when they revolt against the Labor Charter, a law inspired by Nazi methods, they are safeguarding one of France's liberties; when they demand reasonable pay and adequate rations, they are not only defending their own interests, but the very survival of the greater part of the population whose lives are endangered by the privations brought about by the enemy's looting; when, now that they find themselves liable to deportation, they sabotage this measure by innumerable actions ranging from demonstrations to strikes, and hundreds of thousands of them take to the *maquis*, they give an example which is soon followed by all those who refuse to submit to slavery in the service of the enemy; when they commit ever-growing acts of sabotage against the factories and transport of the enemy, they support to an appreciable extent the action of the Allied air force and the French Forces of the Interior in whose ranks they are already so numerous.

The enemy has not been deceived. Hundreds and thousands of martyrs and prisoners have been taken from the working class.

The working class deserves the recognition of the nation.

It has not found itself alone in the struggle. Employers who help their personnel escape deportation, or who sabotage enemy orders -- Peasants who shelter the defaulters and who resist requisitions -- Intellectuals who defend our culture against Nazi barbarism --

all these are taking part in the struggle against the common enemy.

Union of the French is formed in daily action. Alone, traitors and those who profit from the defeat, whose punishment is coming, are excluded from this gigantic gathering.

The enemy knows he will be beaten. Frenchmen, precipitate his rout by a daily struggle, organize yourselves, prepare yourselves for offensive counter-measures against his final plans of destruction and of massacre in which he intends to submerge his defeat. Be the craftsmen of your own liberation. Join the struggle at the side of our British, American, and Russian allies.

Smite the enemy with redoubled vigour to provide a counterpart to the blows being inflicted on him by the victorious Red Army.

Establish everywhere Committees of Liberation, in the towns, villages, and factories; these committees will make contact with Departmental Committees which have already been formed and are unifying the action of all patriots.

To defend yourselves against Nazi terrorism and against the Fascist Militia of the SS man Darnand and protect those who are staging strikes and patriotic demonstrations; to defend your property and yourselves; to prepare and ensure the success of the national uprising, establish everywhere patriotic militias grouping all those Frenchmen who have stomach for the fight.

May this 1st of May, 1944, the last 1st of May to be observed under the shame of invasion, be a day of vigorous action and of unity.

The National Council of Resistance, in full accord with the CGT, asks the workers to absent themselves from the official demonstrations of 30 April organized by the SS man Deat under cover of a so-called labor day holiday. In this way, they will show that the workers' world does not recognize this as a holiday when their families are torn by arrests, executions, conscription, and deportation.

On Monday, 1st of May, you will go on strike: you will demonstrate by ceasing work between 11 a.m. and noon.[1]

XXXIV ON THE CONDITION OF FRENCH PATRIOTS IN GERMAN HANDS

Tens of thousands of French patriots have been deported to German and Polish concentration camps. Those arrested by the German police have been deported without the merest semblance of a trial. Others have been given over by the Vichy Administration, in some cases even after having served their sentence.

The rare information to come out of these camps reveals frightful treatment: shootings, tortures, slow extermination by famine, lack of hygiene, and forced labor.

Thus out of 847 women deported in January 1943 to the Fort of Romainville (among whom were 26 widows of executed hostages), only one fifth were still alive at the camp of Anschwik in January 1944. For one, two, or three years, hundreds of thousands of families have no longer received news from their deported relatives.

The National Council of Resistance appeals to the conscience of the world, it appeals to all the spiritual forces and to all men of good will in the Allied and Neutral countries, and entreats them to help the C.N.R. in obtaining the following measures: (1) The sending to the International Red Cross of complete lists of those patriots who died or were shot while in the camps. (2) The right for all deportees to correspond and receive packages. (3) That all German concentration camps be inspected by the Commission of Enquiry of the International Red Cross. (4) The return of all civilian internees to their country of origin. (5) That all the Allied Governments warn the German Government of reprisals should these requests be disregarded, and that the German people be informed (by means of an appropriate campaign) of the crimes of its leaders. [1]

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[1] CID #70132, 27 April 1944; Confidential source, 20 July 1944

XXXV TO WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS IN FRENCH INDUSTRY

The National Council of Resistance sent the following orders this moring to the workers, employers, and employees of the industrial enterprises of France:

To the employers and employees of industrial enterprises, and to the workers in general, your first duty is to follow the orders given by the trade union organizations, and by the Resistance groups, even if you do not belong to them.

These orders, which will be variable according to area and the circumstances, might dictate cessation of work in the factories working for Germany, or continuation of work in that branch of the food and supply industry upon which depends the feeding of the French civilian population.

The second general order for the workers is the alerting of the patriotic factory militias. Mine personnel, employees of the water and gas distribution services, workers and engineers of electric hydraulic or thermal power plants, your battle station is at the mine, the factory, the workyards, where the labor organizations will order, according to the situation, a continuation or a cessation of work, or a sit-down strike. The personnel of the services of water and gas distribution should assure the supplying of the cities.

In the mine, at the factory, in the workyard-- a capital job

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1. France (London), 23 May 1944

is to protect by all methods the equipment against enemy destruction. Employers, technicians, workers: you are accountable to the Nation for this equipment which is an irreplaceable part of the French patrimony. It is your strict duty not only to refuse to help in the destruction ordered by the enemy, but to prohibit, by fighting if necessary, the destruction of equipment, and principally that of power stations, and the destruction of mines.

Railway workers, and officials of the postal, telephone, and telegraph services: you all know your main objective, which is the general immobilization of the enemy through his arteries, and the paralyzing of his transports and his transmissions.

For most of you, unless you receive orders to the contrary, your battle station is at your work.[1]

XXXVI FOR 14 JULY 1944

Frenchmen, Frenchwomen, the cannon thunders on the soil of the homeland. Irresistibly, the armies of our Anglo-American allies have overthrown the Atlantic Wall. English, Canadian, and American soldiers are fighting and dying to crush Hitlerite barbarism and liberate France.

At the same time, while the great offensive of the Soviet army is unfolding, French troops continue to cover themselves with glory wherever they are fighting.

What Frenchman is there who would content himself with waiting passively for liberation by the sole effort of the Allied Nations?

The hour has come to hasten this victory by harassing the enemy, by derailing his trains, by cutting his communications, by barring his roads, by strewing his path with traps and ambushes, by sabotaging and halting his war production, and by blocking his supplies.

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[1] FCC: Daily, (Brazzaville), 7 June 1944

The hour has come to exterminate the Militia killers who are expected to prevent France from acting and rebelling.

The hour has come to throw confusion in the ranks of the enemy's soldiers, "collaborators," and agents, by multiplying the number of strikes and demonstrations.

All over France let the 14th of July be the signal for redoubling the struggle!

On that day let each Frenchman perform an act of patriotism, an act of war against the invader! On that day let not a single Frenchman work for the enemy!

From Paris to the smallest village in France, let every Frenchman express his hate for the occupier and his determination to reconquer liberty by a national insurrection.

Hoist tricolor flags on public buildings, steeples, and the chimneys of factories.

Show your hatred of the enemy by gathering around and decorating with flowers the monuments to the War Dead of 1914-1918. Do this on the hours decided on by local Resistance organizations, and, in so doing, swear that your country can count on your determination to expel the invader.

And if the men of Vichy, who serve the enemy and retreat before the patriots, should avoid the test of strength as they did on the 1st of May, cease work the next day by making it a day of rest.

Let the fighting 14th of July show the more timorous the increasing weakness of the enemy and the strength lent France by the union and resolution of her sons, betrayed yet not vanquished.

Let the 14th of July thus become a day later to be spoken of as the day which created favorable conditions for the victorious national insurrection.

On that day, let thousands of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen join the Resistance orgainzations and the various formations of the French Forces of the Interior.

Let them join the Patriotic Militias.

Let them unite in Local Committees of Liberation.

Let them all understand the sacred duty of being armed and united, and of fighting for the liberty, independence, and greatness of France!

Let the daring of our ancestors in the great days of history again inspire us! Let the Nation again be aroused by the dynamism which inspired the people of Paris to attack the Bastille on the 14th of July 1789, let the Nation be aroused by the spirit of Valmy and the breath of the Marseillaise!

Long live the 14th of July of Victory!

Long live the Provisional Government of the French Republic presided over by General de Gaulle!

Long live France![1]

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[1] French Press and Information Service, Document Serie II, #1165 F, 13 July 1944

APPENDIX: CONDEMNATION OF PUCHEU

Statements have been made, some of them at the trial of Pucheu, to the effect that the National Council of Resistance had condemned Pucheu to death.[1] On the other hand, at the trial the witness Charles Laurent stated explicitly that it was not the National Council of Resistance, but *Comité de Coordination des Groupes de Résistance*, otherwise known as the *Comité Central de la Résistance*, which condemned him.[2] This body is a more restricted group than the CNR, being representative of the pure resistance movements only, whereas the CNR includes in addition representatives of the political parties and the labor organizations.

The text of the condemnation of Pucheu by the *Comité Central de la Résistance* is as follows:

On April 1st 1942, close to 300,000 Frenchmen had been imprisoned and given up to physical misery, and close to 30,000 patriots had been shot or guillotined by the Germans and their Vichy accomplices. One of the most notorious of these accomplices, Pierre Pucheu, is in the hands of French justice in North Africa.

The Central Committee of Resistance, the voice of the members of Resistance, whose ranks have been hard hit by the criminal action of Pierre Pucheu, declares: "Pierre Pucheu, one-time minister of the Interior to Vichy, the promoter of prisons and shootings, and known to be guilty of complicity in these assassinations, is condemned to death by the French people."[3]

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[1] Grenier in *France* (London), 17 February 1944; *New York Times*, 7 March 1944; CID #63953.

[2] CID #63953.

[3] *Libération*, Zone Sud, #37, 12 October 1943; *L'Humanité*, #216, 15 September 1943; CID #53781. At the trial of Pucheu it was stated that this resolution was passed on 30 August 1943 (CID #63953).